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APRIL 24, 1947

Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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Does Our New Foreign Policy Lead to Peace or War?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

JAMES BURNHAM

ALFRED LONDON

GLEN H. TAYLOR

MAX LERNER

(See also page 15)

COMING

—May 1, 1947—

What Should We Do About Germany Now?

—May 8, 1947—

What Can We Do To Get More Housing?

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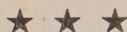
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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



APRIL 24, 1947

VOL. 12, No. 52

Does Our New Foreign Policy Lead to Peace or War?

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors, from coast to coast. On your behalf, I want to express our appreciation for the wonderful hospitality extended to your Town Meeting by the citizens of Oklahoma City and particularly to Oklahoma City University, under whose auspices we are meeting this evening.

It's fitting that we discuss tonight's question here in the heart of this great pioneer state in the presence of some of the very people who took part in the great run of 1889, which marked the opening of this territory.

Straightforward honesty and a kind of brutal frankness are characteristic of this part of the country. That is what we need as we face up to the question, "Does Our New Foreign Policy Lead to Peace or War?"

Congress is wrestling with this problem now, I doubt if there is a

more important problem at this time before the American people. For this reason, we are inviting each of you to listen carefully and to participate in a nation-wide expression of opinion on this question. After we've heard this discussion, think it over carefully. Then write or wire to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and tell us whether you think our new foreign policy leads to peace or war.

Only the votes of those who say they have heard both sides on America's Town Meeting will be counted. This is not to be a scientific poll of the population, but more important, perhaps, if each of you will act, it will be an expression of opinion of those who heard both sides. We will announce the results next week, May 1.

Many of you will recall that your Town Meeting began dis-

cussing this question the day after President Truman announced this new policy and asked Congress for 400 million dollars for assistance for Greece and Turkey in order to check the spread of totalitarianism.

Day before yesterday, after extensive debate, the United States Senate approved the President's request. A similar bill has been approved by the House Foreign Relations Committee. One more hurdle and the Truman Doctrine may become law. But should it? That's our question tonight.

It's supporters, including Republican Senator Vandenberg of Michigan, maintain that the new policy leads to peace. This is the view which will be upheld here tonight by Mr. Burnham and Governor Landon.

Opponents of the Truman Doctrine say that it leads straight down the road to war. This view will be upheld tonight by Senator Taylor and Mr. Max Lerner.

Well, gentlemen, this is a front-page subject, so I expect that even those who read only the headlines will know just what we're talking about. So, let's start with a statement by a man who supports the President's policy completely, a man whose new book, *The Struggle for the World*, was published in a condensed form in *Life* magazine a few weeks ago. It is already on the best-seller list, and is now being widely discussed throughout the country.

Mr. Burnham is a professor of philosophy at New York University and has had his own struggle with communism. During the early 30's he attempted to build a new revolutionary communist party independent of the official Stalinist party, but in 1940, after an extended controversy with Leon Trotsky, he broke with every variety of communism. Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. James Burnham. Mr. Burnham. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Burnham:

Mr. Denny, I say the new foreign policy will lead toward peace. There are fifty reasons why I say so. Here are four of them:

1. You don't stop a man from kicking you by licking his boots. You don't stop totalitarianism, whether it is called fascism or communism, by appeasing it. Didn't we learn that from Hitler and the Japanese?

2. If you don't stop communism, it will go right on the same way it has for the last four years, gobbling up one country after the other until it swallows the world.

3. The United Nations can't do the job and everybody knows it. It hasn't got the machinery, and it has got a communist veto.

4. We are the only nation that can take the lead in the fight for peace and freedom.

The civilized world looks to us to smash the communist conspiracy to enslave mankind.

Now all of you have heard about the Iron Curtain that falls on every nation where communism takes power. Behind it the terror squads of the Communist Secret Police — the N.K.V.D. are in charge. They wipe out all opposition. They herd millions of human beings into slave labor camps. They shut the borders tight.

Behind that Iron Curtain, they force every young man and many young women to train for ruthless war. Their textbook tells them why they are being trained, and I quote from that book, "for the final victory of the great task of the Lenin-Stalin Party, the victory of communism in the whole world."

That Iron Curtain is clamped down on all of Eastern Europe—on Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania.

Suppose these countries were living today under governments really chosen by their own people. Suppose books and travelers and ideas and goods were moving freely both ways across their borders. You'd all agree, wouldn't you, that then there would be less chance of war, more chance of peace.

Or put the question this way: Suppose you had communist dictators like Yugoslavia's Tito ruling Canada and Mexico. Suppose they were building their armies the way Tito builds his. Suppose

they were sending their agents to organize guerilla warfare in Texas and Oklahoma, and New England, and Idaho, Senator Taylor, the way Tito on Stalin's orders sends his agents into Greece. Would you think that the world had moved toward peace or toward war?

Now ask yourself about our Government's plan to help Greece and Turkey stay outside that iron curtain? Is it a plan to bring war nearer? That's what Henry Wallace has been telling the people of Europe about his own country's policy.

Or is it a plan to try to stop war, to try to give peace a better chance?

The opponents of the new foreign policy, like Senator Taylor here, seem to have short memories. Do you remember when they themselves told us about appeasing totalitarianism? They said the democracies could have stopped Hitler and stopped the second World War if we'd acted firmly and in time. But they seem color blind about totalitarianism. They can see the brown nazi kind and the black fascist kind, but somehow they can't see the red kind of totalitarianism.

The communists haven't forgotten, though. They know that if the democracies are firm, then communism will never dare to start a war. Then communism will have to retreat, and not only in Greece and Turkey, but the com-

munists know also that if once again the democracies appease totalitarianism, then communism will win and win not only Greece and Turkey.

Then communism will choose its own time for launching a new war to establish the World Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The communists know what they are doing. That is why they despise appeasers, despise them even while they use them, while they print their speeches and fill Madison Square Garden in New York for them.

Are we to help the people of Greece and Turkey? Yes, and of France and Italy and China get on their feet and take their rightful places as part of the peaceful and democratic world order? Or, are we going to turn them over to totalitarianism and its blueprint for war? That is the issue.

Don't be fooled when Senator Taylor and Max Lerner smother the issue with big words about bypassing the United Nations in supporting reaction.

They will try to pretend to you that the United Nations can act like a world government and enforce world law. You know better. Do you exercise a baby by giving him a thousand pound weight to lift? Can you enforce the law when you've got the chief lawbreaker as one of the judges on the bench?

As for supporting reaction, the Greek Government is not so good,

but it was chosen in a free election by the Greek people. It is a thousand times more democratic than the governments in the communist puppet states and in the Soviet Union. I've never heard a word from Senator Taylor against those governments.

Why he and Mr. Lerner, like Henry Wallace, are in favor of loaning billions of dollars to Stalin's government—the most reactionary on earth.

The issue is really simple. Senator Taylor's policy would not merely make a new war certain, it would make us lose the war when it came.

The President's policy is a first step toward a democratic world order. It will, if we carry it through, stop the third World War in its tracks. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Burnham. Well, Senator Taylor, Mr. Burnham seems to have read some of your earlier remarks on this subject, and hurls a rather direct challenge at your viewpoint. We'll, therefore, welcome an equally direct answer from you, Senator Taylor.

Ladies and gentlemen, we welcome to Town Meeting for the first time, the vigorous young Democratic Senator from the State of Idaho, the Honorable Glen H. Taylor. Senator Taylor. (*Applause.*)

Senator Taylor:

Mr. Burnham has just finished saying, in effect, that the only way for America to maintain peace is by force of arms. What this means, logically, is that the only way to have peace is to make war. There's nothing new about this doctrine. It is the same weary old doctrine of peace by force of arms that has led to all the wars of the past, that has shed all the blood in the blood-soaked record of history. It has been the doctrine of all the militarists, all the dictators. The only thing different about Mr. Burnham is that he adds fancy new catchwords, like "Iron Curtain," and he conceals his imperialism by talking of America carving out a democratic world order.

But when you strip it naked of these protective phrases, this doctrine is as old as war itself, and as cynical as mass death.

There is one paramount problem in our foreign policy. Every other problem is secondary. It is: How can we avoid a third world war?

I want to see the United Nations improved, but I also cherish the organization we now have. I want it to flourish and grow. I want it to be used to settle every single question between nations which causes friction or creates a danger of war.

I want to give aid to war devastated countries like Greece. It is the decent and human thing to do.

But I object to military involvements and I want all problems handled through the U.N.

One of the reasons why we have by-passed the United Nations is that we have listened to those who feel that we cannot live side by side with Russia. These people forget that we fought side by side for over three years.

Points of difference have emerged in the course of our negotiations with Russia, and some are serious, but are they so serious that we should abandon hope for peace and go to war over them? When our diplomats run into trouble with other countries, the event is treated in a routine way. But the differences with Russia are the occasion for scare headlines and dark forebodings.

I know that the world's diplomats are old men with worn-out nerves, and this includes Russia, Britain, and America, but if the old men can't do the job, let's get younger men, men who faced the horrors of war and who dreamed of peace in the foxholes.

Peace is worth a try, and I favor a foreign policy which seeks to preserve the peace through our world organization—the United Nations.

The next war will be a war of atom bombs and of biological poisons. It will be a war which no people can survive intact, and yet that's the war we're being asked to fight now.

By whom? Well, let's see.

During the war, our military forces became very powerful—at home as well as in the field. The generals had hundreds of billions to spend and most of it was spent with a few big producers. They want to continue that arrangement but you cannot keep getting big armament appropriations unless you can scare people into believing they are in danger of being attacked.

We are being deliberately frightened in order to stampede us into a perpetual period of high tension just short of war.

Recently the Office of Naval Intelligence published a booklet showing our trade routes all over the world which it said the Navy must guard. In that elaborate official document there is this enlightening statement, "Realistically all wars have been fought for economic reasons. To make them politically and socially palatable, ideological issues have always been invoked." This sheds intense light on the the "below the belt" propaganda that anyone who opposes our ruthless suicidal foreign policy is an appeaser or communist sympathizer.

I do not say that our national top leadership wants war, but I do say that the military is altogether too powerful in our highest councils and are joined by the cartel kings and the big press.

Realizing full well the responsibility of the position I hold and the seriousness of what I am saying, I believe that the State Department has become merely the civilian mouthpiece for the generals and admirals.

We no longer have a foreign policy. It is a military strategic plan which must eventually end in war unless the people stop it.

During the debate in the Senate on this vital question, it was almost impossible to get a word into the press against this cynical doctrine of peace by force of arms.

I spent ten days preparing an address to deliver on the floor of the Senate and the press brushed all my arguments and carefully documented facts aside with the statement that I was holding the floor until Senator Pepper returned from Florida.

On that day Senator Vandenberg made a statement in favor of the proposal and practically every word was printed. I don't know what motive impels the press to support this road-to-war program, but they are certainly doing it even to the extent of using every catch phrase and innuendo to stir up hatred of Russia and foreclose any possibility of peace.

Frankly, the radio has been much fairer on this issue throughout. How long this great medium of free speech can hold out in the face of the growing tension is up to the people.

We are in grave danger of being conquered here at home by the forces of fascism under the guise of fighting communism. I hope the American people realize their danger before it is too late. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Taylor. Now it's our great privilege to greet a man who served the people of his native state of Kansas so well as Governor that he received the nomination of his party to be its candidate for President of the United States in 1936. No one can say that he was lacking in courage to oppose President Roosevelt in only his second term. (*Laughter.*)

He has the courage of his convictions tonight as he upholds the policies of President Truman and Senator Vandenberg in this discussion. Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the former Governor of Kansas, the former standard bearer of the Republican Party, the Honorable Alf Landon. Governor Landon. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Landon:

The answer to the question we are discussing is not easy or certain. Involved are many global questions of policies as well as many domestic policies in our own beloved country. I must confess I suffer along with the American people for lack of complete information which citizens need in for-

mulating a judgment on such a profound issue.

We have for the first time a definite foreign policy. This new policy has to succeed not only in its own right but it also must overcome the mistakes we made in the bungling quarterback period when our policy was going in all directions at the same time.

We haven't had a foreign policy. We've had nothing but contradictions. Now I'm backing President Truman's new foreign policy. (*Applause.*)

No matter what happens, we are bound to be damaged financially, if in no other way, by the burdens thrown us through the continual mismanagement of our international relations starting with the first Moscow Conference in 1943.

While the President and the State Department have left us too much in the dark as to the applications of this new policy, it is universally considered to be a definite challenge to Russia.

I assume the first thing he will do is to stop our feeding and financing of enemy communist minority groups all over the world. (*Applause.*) Perhaps we'll not have to do much more than that.

On the basis of all the information I've been able to obtain, I'm backing President Truman's foreign policy all the way. (*Applause.*)

Now this is one of the most important decisions the American

people have ever made. It can lead to war. It can lead to peace. I'm not seeking to minimize the danger of this policy. I think the American people generally realize that it may mean another war. But neither do I think the hazards should be magnified as, I must say, I think Senator Taylor did.

After all, under other Presidents throughout our history, the American people have not been afraid to stand for their principles and interests.

Obviously, we must bear in mind the perils of the track we are on. A poll of the newspaper correspondents covering the Paris Conference last summer revealed the overwhelming majority of them believed its failure meant war.

Therefore, if the President follows through courageously and more skillfully, as I believe he will, if the American people back him up without equivocating, I think his new foreign policy offers the best hope of peace. (*Applause.*)

We are not seeking to rule the world. We are seeking to establish law and order. We are opposed to communist methods of death to its opponents, death by starvation, death by the concentration camp, death by the assassin.

We are opposed to the aggressive, acquisitive, unlimited program of Russian domination—world domination—based on organized violence in the domestic affairs of all nations.

We are allying ourselves with the masses all over the world, including, probably, a majority of the Russians themselves. Our new foreign policy throws our weight on the scales of democracy.

We seek neither reparations nor colonies. We're willing to join in a real, genuine, universal disarmament. The wheels of the democracies grind slow, but they grind exceedingly small.

A new world, cleared of aristocrat and communist rubbish, can be rebuilt under our leadership. Once Western Europe is repaired, it will be stronger than ever. That means a peaceful world.

The leadership of that reconstruction has been forced on us. We will succeed because on our side, all over the world, are the labors and efforts of free men. We are the only first-class power in the world today. Our record in the fields, on the seas, in production, in the last two wars, was not equalled by any nation.

In the final analysis, the conclusion cannot be escaped that the forced labor of communism is close enough to human slavery to have a paralyzing effect on technological know-how.

In the world we live in, success in war or peace depends on the science of mechanics. We are the masters of mechanics. The President's policy is based on using that genius of the American people to keep the peace. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Governor Landon. Our fourth speaker is well known to Town Meeting listeners. He has just published one of the F.P.A. Headline pamphlets on tonight's question, *The World of the Great Powers*. Max Lerner, like Mr. Burnham and Senator Taylor, flew out here to Oklahoma City from the East because of the importance of this subject and this meeting.

Max Lerner was one of those four speakers last March 13 who completely rewrote their speeches to give you, our Town Meeting listeners, an up-to-the-minute program on this subject.

Mr. Lerner, although he hails from the East, is not known for pulling his punches in a discussion. Mr. Lerner, does our new foreign policy lead to peace or war? Max Lerner. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Lerner:

I hope Governor Landon will forgive me if I try to sum up what he has just said. He says he's sure that the Democrats have been dead wrong about foreign policy up to this moment but now, miraculously, they've seen the light. Well, I'll admit that President Truman is out-Republicaning the Republicans on foreign policy, but that doesn't make him right. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Landon says that the Truman doctrine may lead to war or it may lead to peace, he's not sure,

but he does know he's for it. (*Laughter.*) He says he wants to ally himself with the masses in Europe—a curious alliance with the masses when you give the worn-out monarchies and the feudal groups a chance to kill them and outlaw them.

As for Mr. Burnham, he seems to be caught in the grip of a deep and vast fear. He sees goblins. He's afraid that the goblins of the Russian Iron Curtain "will get us if we don't watch out."

Well, the Russian Iron Curtain is real, but it isn't new. Thirty years ago, we were just as sure that the Bolshevik goblins would get us and they didn't. Up until 1945, we didn't have to add a single soldier to our armies on account of the Russian Iron Curtain.

Mr. Burnham doesn't want communism to spread, and he says so at great length. Well, he has no monopoly on that. I don't want communism to spread, either. It's a question of how you prevent it. Now let's understand this. There's no more danger of a Communist Canada, or Mexico, or Idaho, or the United States, than there is of any hobgoblin we can think of now. Communism has no roots in America, it has no future in America. Yes, that's true, it has no future in America.

The question is, how do we keep Communist parties from spreading in Europe?

Well, you can't do it by making America the sole policeman of every trouble spot in the world. That's a job that will keep us busier and more jittery than any democracy has the right to be. Even then it's beyond us. We can't do it by a showdown war with Russia, because a war like that, no matter who wins, will lead to a long, drawn out world civil war, and that will lead to chaos everywhere.

Mr. Burnham knows just as well as I that out of chaos not democracy, but communism and fascism would emerge victors.

No, the way to do it is to make this United Nations, which Mr. Burnham is so contemptuous of, to make it the policemen, to set the U.N. to watch over communist and fascist penetration everywhere, to back it up with a world armed force, to get U.N. control of the atom bomb—the atom bomb that Mr. Burnham wants only one country to have. That's the way to do it.

And, finally, to give real economic aid to all the countries that need economic aid, whatever their politics, in order to prevent the kind of hunger and poverty and chaos, out of which communism and fascism emerge.

I agree with Governor Landon that probably the only first-class power in the world today is America. I don't think the Truman policy is going to lead to war right away, because I don't think

the Russians can fight, and I don't think the Americans want to fight. It would be insane. I trust the American people to keep their sanity.

But the Truman policy does make peace harder. It creates an armed truce between America and Russia which, in the end, can only lead to war. When it does, it's the kind of policy that strips us of all the friends that we have.

I prefer the way that Mr. Burnham puts the matter in some of his writings. It's clearer that way. He says the third World War has already started. He says, "Both of the present antagonists may be destroyed; one of them must be."

Well, I say that, at least, is frank. Not only does he believe the world is split in two, he believes the split must be deepened by the only possible method of destruction—atomic war. But he doesn't tell us why.

Oh, he gives us a theory all right. He appeals to the words and the dogmas of the Russians, but the Russians are also quoting the words and dogmas of Mr. Burnham, I assure you, and probably to the same effect.

No, that isn't proof. It isn't the kind of proof on which we risk civilization itself. It would be a tragic and an idiot thing to risk a world-destroying atom bomb war unless we're dead sure that it's a question of we or they. We'd better be dead sure or we will be dead and civilization, too.

The tragic part of the Truman policy is that it does, for all that Mr. Burnham says, harness us to the dead horse of reaction all over the world. The wave of anti-American feeling in England is an example of how dismally the Truman doctrine is failing in even winning friends.

If it's Russian power that we fear, let's compel the Russians to stay inside the U.N.

If it's Russian expansion we fear, let's not give Russian expansion an excuse by our own expansion.

If it's a war we're trying to win, let's gain support all over the world.

By this doctrine, we are gaining not support but resentment, not love but hate. We are not encouraging the democratic idea; we are breaking its heart. We are not encouraging the anti-communist, socialist, and left groups; we are encouraging their enemies.

We are breaking the heart of democracy. That's the real measure of the failure of the Truman doctrine. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Max Lerner. Well, gentlemen, there certainly seems to be a sharp difference of opinion among you. Now will you join me up here around the microphone for a little discussion of our own, before we take the questions from this grand Oklahoma City audience.

We haven't heard from you for awhile, Mr. Burnham, and your name has been taken in vain. Would you like to step over here and say what you have to say.

Mr. Burnham: I'd like to ask Senator Taylor a question that occurred to me while he was reading his speech, Mr. Denny. He seemed to think that we have forgotten that Russia had fought side-by-side in the last war. Rather, I, myself, would put it "fought against the same opponent in the last war."

Now, I'd like to ask Senator Taylor whether he happens to remember that during the first two years of the war, Russia was fighting on the other side, that Russia split up Poland along the terms of a secret treaty drawn up with Hitler, that the communists in this country, under the instructions of Moscow, were picketing the White House demanding that no aid be supplied to the democracies? Has Senator Taylor overlooked that memory?

Senator Taylor: I would like to remind Mr. Burnham, that the Russians offered to fight Hitler when Czechoslovakia was invaded, and we refused to do it at that time. She had no other course than to try to appease Hitler. She couldn't stand up to Germany alone. I think it was better for her to go into Poland and meet Hitler half-way than to let Hitler get that much closer to the heart of Russia. (*See page 17.*)

Mr. Burnham: The only proof I ever saw of that, Senator Taylor, were statements made by communists outside of Russia. There is no evidence from any official policy or from any official of the Soviet Union that it was ever the intention of Russia, at the time of the Munich Conference, to fight against Germany. Her real intentions were shown a year later when she lined up with Germany and carved up Poland. (*See p. 17.*)

Senator Taylor: I beg to differ with you, Mr. Burnham. Russia did offer, definitely, to fight when Czechoslovakia was invaded.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Lerner, do you want to add something here?

Mr. Lerner: Yes, I do. I'm afraid that discussion is not proving terribly fruitful for our present problem. I would like to remind Mr. Burnham—perhaps put it in the form of a question—doesn't he realize that after Russia and Germany made their pact—and I think that it was a stupid pact for Russia to make, let's get that clear—but after Russia and Germany made their pact, everybody was assuring Hitler that the Russians wouldn't possibly be dangerous to him because after all they were quoting the same things about Russia that Mr. Burnham has been quoting—that the Russians really considered the capitalist world their enemies?

I wonder, in the light of those quotations, why it was that Hitler didn't believe those quotations, why it was that he insisted in at-

tacking and destroying Russia, first.

(*Shouted comment from the audience.*)

Mr. Denny: Sorry, there's just one little regulation here of which we have to remind our audience. There's someone who is evidently not a Town Meeting listener over there. On this program only one person speaks at a time, and there's only one kind of animal that hisses and he crawls. Let's go on with the discussion.

Mr. Burnham: The answer to Mr. Lerner's question seems to me quite plain and very useful for us to keep in mind during the current discussions. The reason is this: because it is the inner nature of totalitarianism that it cannot get along with any other social force; because, either you've got to capitulate to totalitarianism or totalitarianism has got to be resisted. Hitler fought because the inner mechanism of his movement required him to strive for world conquest. Exactly the same kind of a force operates in communist totalitarianism.

Mr. Lerner: That is true, Mr. Burnham, but the interesting thing is that Hitler decided in the middle of his war against the capitalists of the world that the Russian totalitarianism was so dangerous that it had to be destroyed first. I say that if Hitler had believed the things that Mr. Burnham had been quoting he would not have been so urgent about destroying the Rus-

ian totalitarianism first. The reason that he didn't believe it is that he knew those things were words, and he was a practical person to judge in terms of action.

I say that today we'd better judge in terms of actions and I submit that the actions of Russia since the Iranian incident have not been the actions of a country that

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

MAX LERNER—Mr. Lerner is chief editorial writer for *PM* and assistant to its publisher. Born in Minsk, Russia, in 1902, he was brought to this country when he was five years old. He received an A.B. from Yale in 1923 and then continued to study law there for a year. In 1925 he received his A.M. from Washington University in St. Louis, and in 1927, his Ph.D. from Brookings Graduate Schools of Economics and Government, in Washington.

Mr. Lerner served as assistant editor of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* in 1927 and later became managing editor. From 1932 to 1936, he was a member of the social science faculty at Sarah Lawrence College. From 1933 to 1935 he was also chairman of the faculty of the Wellesley Summer Institute, and in 1934, was director of the Consumers' Division of the National Emergency Council. Mr. Lerner has been a lecturer in the department of government of Harvard University and from 1938 to 1943 was professor of political science at Williams College. For two years he was editor of *The Nation*.

Books written by Mr. Lerner include *It Is Later Than You Think*, *Ideas Are Weapons*, *Ideas for the Ice Age*, and *The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes*.

ALFRED MOSSMAN LANDON — Alfred Landon, former Governor of Kansas, and Republican nominee for President of the United States in 1936, was born in West Middlesex, Pennsylvania, in 1887. He attended Marietta Academy and received his LL.B. from the University of Kansas. He also had several honorary degrees. He entered business as a bookkeeper in the bank at Independence, Kansas, and in 1912, he became an oil producer.

From 1933 to 1937—two terms—Mr. Landon was Governor of Kansas. He was nominated as Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1939. He served as delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention in 1940 and 1944.

GLEN H. TAYLOR — Born in Portland, Oregon, in 1904, Glen Taylor is now a Democratic Senator from Idaho. Educated in the public schools in Idaho, he became a sheet metal worker's apprentice in 1919, but in 1921, he joined a

dramatic stock company of which he became a partner in 1922. Since 1926, he has been in the entertainment field as owner and business manager of various enterprises. During the war, from 1924 to 1944, he went back to his trade in sheet metal as a mechanic in an ordnance plant in San Francisco.

Senator Taylor began studying economics and government because of hardships endured and the suffering of others which he witnessed in his travels during the depression. He ran for Congress in 1938 and was fourth in a field of nine in the primaries. When he ran for United States Senate in 1940, he was nominated but defeated by 14,000 votes in the General Election. For United States Senate in 1942, he was nominated but defeated by 4,000 votes in the General Election. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1944.

JAMES BURNHAM—James Burnham was born in Chicago in 1905. In 1927, he was graduated *summa cum laude* from Princeton University. He spent several years in Europe, studying at Oxford, and traveling extensively on the Continent. Since 1929, he has been on the faculty of New York University, teaching most of the time in the Department of Philosophy, but with temporary assignments in comparative literature, and, during the war, in mathematics. He is a member also of the economics faculty of the Graduate School of Banking.

From 1930 to 1934, he and Philip Whellwright edited *The Symposium*, a critical and philosophical quarterly.

During the 1930's, Mr. Burnham was active in the unemployed and trade union movements and in the attempt to build a new revolutionary communist party, independent of the official Stalinist party. He edited *The New International*, and wrote widely for labor and radical papers. But he had never accepted the general philosophy of Marxism, and in 1940, after an extended controversy with Leon Trotsky, he broke definitely with every variety of communism.

He is the author of two books which have found a world audience: *The Managerial Revolution* (1941), and *The Machiavellians* (1944). His book, *The Struggle for the World*, was published in March.

is determined to rule the world and destroy us. I'd like to have evidence against that. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Burnham: You remarked in your speech, Mr. Lerner, that the Russian Iron Curtain has been existing for thirty years, but you failed to remind us that that Iron Curtain now includes about 200 million more people than it did thirty years ago.

Now I'd like to ask you how far you're going to let that Iron Curtain go without trying to do something about it? (*Applause.*)

Writing in your newspaper, *PM*, on June 11, 1946, you tried to quiet the fears of everyone by pointing out that Russia had now stopped at what you called the Middle Zone, and then you went on as follows: "If he means that they are now moving farther, he has no evidence. All the evidence indicates that the Russians have felt out for soft spots, have met resistance, and are now ready to do stiff negotiating through diplomatic channels—but will stay in them."

Now how far do you want them to go? They take over Greece and Turkey. Did you read on the 15th the release of the communique of the American Intelligence Service about the meetings in Prague under which the carving up of Macedonia, in Northern Greece, and of Turkey up to the Dardanelles, was agreed upon by representatives of the Communist

International? All right, they get through with Greece and Turkey.

In France, the Communist party is very powerful. They take over France and Italy. You'll still be telling us, "We have to get along with the Russians."

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Burnham. That's the trouble with you writers. You see you can be quoted against yourselves. Mr. Lerner, will you step up?

Mr. Lerner: I don't think Mr. Burnham is quoting me against myself. Actually, I think that some of us have many fewer words to eat from our past than some of the rest of us and I don't think I have very many. Mr. Burnham asks how far I will let the Russians go before I want to act.

I say let's stop every imperialism now. I want to stop the Russian expansion. I want to stop the American expansion. I would want to stop any other expansion, because I think expansions are dangerous. I do not think that expansion should be stopped by one country because if one country tries to do it that leads to war.

Expansion can be stopped only within the framework of a world authority. If Mr. Burnham challenges that, Mr. Burnham is asking for an American imperialism as the only solution. I am not in favor of any imperialism at all. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Now, while our audience here gets ready for our question period, I'm sure you, our

listeners, will be interested in the following message.

Announcer: You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air, brought to you by Town Hall and the American Broadcasting Company. For your convenience, we print each week the Town Meeting Bulletin, containing a complete transcript of tonight's discussion, including the questions and answers to follow. You may secure tonight's Town Meeting Bulletin by writing to Town Hall,

New York 18, New York, enclosing 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing.

If you would like to have this bulletin in the handy pocket-size come to you regularly each week, enclose \$1 for 11 weeks, \$2.35 for six months, or \$4.50 for one year. Remember the address: Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and allow at least two weeks for delivery. Now for our question period, we return you to Mr. George V. Denny, Jr.

* * * *

Following the program Senator Taylor and Mr. Burnham asked to have these remarks added:

Senator Taylor: On September 11, 1938, Russia notified France that she would live up to the mutual assistance treaty with Czechoslovakia and, if necessary, fight to prevent German aggression. According to a Washington Press dispatch of September 21, 1938, in the *Washington Evening Star*, 'Geneva, September 21 (AP), 'Maxim Litvinoff, Soviet Russian Foreign Commissar, today accused France and Great Britain of capitulating to Adolf Hitler's demands and disclosed they had ignored Russia's offer of military help to protect Czechoslovakia.

"'The foreign commissar in a scathing denunciation of League of Nations powers said Russia stood ready to back up any collective action in defense of Czechoslovakia with arms and men.'"

The New York Times of September 2, 1938, quotes Maxim Litvinoff,

USSR foreign minister, as saying that he informed the French government that if Czechoslovakia were attacked "we intend to fulfill our obligations under the pact and, together with France, afford assistance to Czechoslovakia by ways open to us.

"Our War Department is ready immediately to participate in a conference with representatives of the French and Czechoslovak war departments in order to discuss measures appropriate to the moment."

Mr. Burnham: There is no record of any official Soviet assurance, at the time of the Munich Conference itself, that the Soviet Union was prepared to join in all necessary measures, including armed force, to stop Hitler.

Litvinoff's speeches made for propaganda purposes subsequent to the conference are no more to be taken as statements of historical fact than the frequent declarations by Soviet leaders during the late war that they desired "a free and independent Poland."

QUESTIONS, PLEASE I

Mr. Denny: Here's where members of our audience have an opportunity to secure a \$210 set of the *Encyclopedia Americana*. If you ask a question which our committee of judges considers best for bringing out new facts and increasing our understanding of this subject, provided also that you limit your question to 25 words, a 30-volume set of the *Encyclopedia Americana* will be on the way to you tomorrow. Make your questions good and stick to the subject.

I believe the gentleman there in the red tie has a question for Governor Landon. You've been rather silent here, Governor.

Man: I'm addressing my question to Senator Taylor.

Mr. Denny: Well, I'm sorry, I thought you had a question for Governor Landon. All right.

Man: Suppose we take Senator Taylor's suggestion and submit the question to U.N., and Russia exercises her veto. To what course do we turn then?

Senator Taylor: Russia cannot exercise a veto when we submit the question to the U.N. She can only exercise a veto when the solution to the question is announced. At least, then we would know where Russia stood and we would have the moral force of the world—moral force of the world public opinion—on our side. We wouldn't

be taking a unilateral course, by-passing the United Nations and gaining the enmity of all mankind.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Lerner has a comment there.

Mr. Lerner: I'd just like to add one factual comment. The Russians have already announced through Mr. Gromyko—who often is a very irritating person, but this time makes some sense—they've already announced that on the question of aid to Greece, they are for it. They are for it through the U.N., which means there is no chance of a Russian veto on that question inside the U.N.

Mr. Denny: Mr. Burnham has a comment. Yes?

Mr. Burnham: It seems to me, Mr. Denny, that there's another way of interpreting Mr. Gromyko's attitude on this particular point. He is for it being handled through the U.N. because he knows then it never will be handled, because he knows the U.N. hasn't got the machinery, hasn't got the organization, to accomplish any of the work that has to be done in Greece. (*Applause.*)

He knows that this is the best way to smother it, because he can have the appearance of being in favor of it. At the same time he makes it impossible to get anywhere. (*Applause.*)

Senator Taylor: Mr. Burnham keeps telling us how weak the U.N. is. Evidently he wants to take the infant out and throw it in the creek someplace. Personally I want to strengthen the U.N. and do our work through the U.N. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: All right, Mr. Lerner?

Mr. Lerner: Another factual matter. Mr. Burnham has been speculating about what might possibly be in Mr. Gromyko's mind. Well, he may have a pipeline to Mr. Gromyko's mind. I don't.

I do say this, factually, that there is an organization in the U.N., the Food and Agriculture Organization. They did send people to Greece. They have made a report. They have recommended the spending of a hundred million dollars to build up agriculture there.

We have ignored that report. There have been similar reports of UNRRA. There have been reports of the Commission on Devastated Areas. All of them have said the same thing. We've ignored them. On the question of Iran, I didn't hear Mr. Burnham say then that the U.N. was too weak to sustain this attack of ours on Russia. I think we were right to use the U.N. on Iran. If it was strong enough to stop the Russians in Iran, why in the name of heaven isn't it strong enough to stop the Russians in Greece? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Governor Landon.

Governor Landon: The United Nations did not stop the Russians in Iran. It was the mobilization of the British troops that stopped it. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Lerner: Again a factual question. The demobilization of the British troops took place in Egypt, it did not take place in the Middle East in Palestine, nearest Iran. The fact was that the Russians did have their armies in Iran against their word. The fact was that they wanted to keep those armies. The fact was that we decided to appeal to the world conscience and force to prevent them. The fact was that we used the U.N. for that purpose and the fact was that it worked. (*Shouts and applause.*)

Mr. Denny: I'm going to have a little quarrel with my friend down on the front row if he can't keep quiet. Because we have only one person speaking here at a time, my friend. If you want to stay by us, let's keep quiet until I recognize you for a question. Now, the gentleman over here on this side of the house, with the bow tie.

Man: My question is addressed to Mr. Burnham. Do you think that our present foreign policy is forceful enough?

Mr. Burnham: I think that the present proposals that have been made by the President and that are now before Congress are only a

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first step. I think that the country is beginning to understand that. It is a question of the people getting behind them and showing the Government that the Government is able to go forward in completing the policy with the full support of all the people.

Mr. Denny: All right, thank you. The gentleman over there on the right side of the house.

Man: My question is directed to Mr. Landon. Sir, in a speech which you made in Wichita, Kansas, on the 19th of March, relative to this question, you stated, "Despite political or wishful protestations, it is the age-old balance-of-power game," referring to the Truman doctrine. Sir, has the age-old balance-of-power game in the past pointed the way to peace?

Mr. Landon: It did for 100 years after the Treaty of Vienna. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Now, that's the kind of answer that I call you gentlemen's attention to. All right. Over here on the third row.

Man: Mr. Lerner, you say Russia didn't force us into war. That's true. Didn't Russia attack Finland on her first step toward conquest, but the Nazis beat her to it?

Mr. Lerner: The question is whether Russia didn't make some attacks on Finland. Russia did attack Finland. Russia attacked other countries on its immediate border.

Let's get it very clear. My position in opposing the Truman

doctrine does not involve the defense of Russian policy, past or present. I think the Russians have made an awful lot of mistakes. I think that was one of them. But you don't fight a country because it's made mistakes.

I think it's terribly important also for us to understand this question of whether Russia is free. Russia is not free. Russia is unfree, but you don't go to war against a country because it's unfree, do you, Mr. Burnham? Because, Mr. Burnham, if you believe that you go to war against a country because it's unfree, why aren't you asking for war against Franco's Spain? Why aren't you asking for war against unfree Greece? Unfree Turkey? The unfree Arab states? Unfree China? And unfree Argentina? It's a question of what kind of unfree country. (*Shouts and applause.*)

Mr. Burnham: I don't, Mr. Lerner, because I am trying, with the help of my fellow citizens to work toward a policy that will be able to stop tyranny, that will be able to promote freedom without war. Because I know that your policy won't do it. Your policy paves the road for tyranny. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: All right, Mr. Lerner.

Mr. Lerner: This newly found conversion of Mr. Burnham's about not wanting war interests me very much. How about this idea that both worlds, the Russian and the

American, may be destroyed, but one of them must be. How do you destroy the Russian world if you don't use war to destroy it?

Mr. Burnham: I'd be happy to answer that question, Mr. Lerner. You can destroy it very much better without a war, very much better by the methods of peace, if they are backed by an adequate world policy.

Mr. Denny: All right. Thank you, Mr. Burnham.

Mr. Lerner: I think we ought to continue this, Mr. Denny, because I think Mr. Burnham is really up against a problem here. (*Laughter and applause.*) He has gotten himself, through his writings and his speaking into a very interesting position. On the one hand he insists that this is a question of "we or they" and one of them must be destroyed.

On the other hand, he says, "Oh, I assure you, I'm not thinking in terms of a war. I'm only thinking in terms of a peace." Evidently he is thinking in terms of a peace in which there is room only for one social system in the world. If that's the kind of peace he's thinking of, he'll have to destroy the other social system. I say the world is big enough for both social systems. Even though I hate the other, the world is big enough for both of them, provided they both want peace and follow the course of peace.

I say "In my Father's House there are many Mansions," and I say that it's perfectly possible for us to have a world that tolerates differences, even differences in political and social philosophies. How about it, Mr. Burnham? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Burnham: It is true, Mr. Lerner, that I have said, in the long run, a great totalitarian power cannot remain in the world if the rest of the world is democratic and free; that it is either we or they. I say, therefore, that for the next period of history the danger of war will remain over the world and over this country until the Russian people are free.

Your trouble, Mr. Lerner, is that you don't distinguish between the Russian people and the communist tyranny that grinds down the Russian people. You want us to get along with Russia, and when you say that you mean get along with Stalin. I want us to get along with Russia, and when I say it I mean get along with the Russian people.

It is up to the Russian people when they know that we are on their side, when we can get through to them—to change their form of government. When their border is open so that we can travel back and forth freely, our ideas, our goods, our economic help and theirs to us, then we'll be able to get along with the Russian people and then we'll have a world in

which there won't have to be war. (Applause.)

Mr. Lerner: Mr. Burnham now is saying that we can get along with the Russian people, but not with their rulers. That means that in this particular unfree country, he insists on overturning their rulers. He doesn't want to do it in the other unfree countries I've mentioned, because they're fascist unfree countries, but not communist unfree countries.

May I suggest that there is a way by which the Russian people can be free—a very good way. That is if the Russian people can have something more to eat, can get a sense of not being so scared, as they are now. That's why Mr. Wallace has made a suggestion for a loan.

If Mr. Burnham will think it over, he will know that if Russia can get some kind of economic sense of ease, Russia can ease up on its tyranny and the Russian people can eventually get some kind of freedom. (Applause.)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Question, here.

Man: Mr. Landon, is our interest from war beneficial to the boys on the front line or the makers of armaments?

Mr. Denny: Is our interest in peace beneficial to the boys on the front line or the makers of armaments?

Mr. Landon: Why, it's of interest to the boys on the front lines, every time, and every other

man, woman, and child in America.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Governor Landon. Now while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's question, here's a message of interest to you.

Announcer: Every now and then someone writes in to Town Hall along these lines, "Your program is good but it's too controversial. Why do you emphasize people's differences instead of their agreements?"

Well, we could give you lots of answers to this one. The first is that you wouldn't listen. You wouldn't listen because the programs would be dull, because you'd know they were not honest.

You know as well as we do that we're living in the midst of a great world revolution. Conflicting ideas and ideologies are engaged in a world-wide struggle for supremacy. Like the ostrich, we could hide our heads in the sand, but if we want to deal with present-day conflicts honestly and constructively, what better way is there than the Town Meeting way?

The Town Meeting is the arch enemy of the mass meeting. The mass meeting tends to intensify conflict, by setting class against class, and group against group. The Town Meeting tends to resolve controversy by exposing both sides to honest discussion, and the public sense of fair play. Now, ladies and gentlemen, for

the summaries of tonight's discussion, here again is Mr. Denny:

Mr. Denny: Here is Mr. Max Lerner for his summary.

Mr. Lerner: My plea is for sanity. My plea is for understanding that we can live in a world with two social systems provided each of them really wants peace. My plea is for the kind of American policy which will strengthen the only thing that can prevent war in the long run—an international organization.

My plea is for giving this kind of thing a test, and then if it doesn't work, we can think in terms of something else. I say that the kind of policy that Mr. Truman is talking about and Mr. Burnham and Mr. Landon are talking about won't give us that kind of a chance. That kind of a policy will lead to war. Even within war it will strip of us our friends and give us only enemies. Even if we get into that war it will mean a long, drawn-out civil war. Even if we should eventually win it, we would find that we were incapable of running the world.

I say that it's not in the American tradition to try to run the world. It's in the American tradition to try to be good neighbors, good fences make good neighbors, but let's have those fences inside the U.N. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Lerner. Now a final word from Mr. Burnham.

Mr. Burnham: The trouble is, Mr. Lerner, that one of the social systems—the communist system—doesn't want peace. There are three groups opposed to the new foreign policy in this country. One is the communists. They oppose it because they want to destroy America.

The second includes many honest and patriotic citizens who think, like the former isolationists, that we should keep out of other people's troubles. I respect this second group, but I believe that in an age of atom bombs and rockets they are wrong.

But Senator Taylor, and Max Lerner, and Henry Wallace belong in a third group—the group of the appeasers. The real truth is that they have no faith in democracy or in America. They think that communism is the wave of the future. The only thing they propose to do about that wave is to wait for it to swamp them.

The new foreign policy is based on the opposite idea—on faith in democracy and America. It is a first straight step toward world freedom and world peace. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Burnham, Mr. Lerner, Senator Taylor and Governor Landon, and our very gracious thanks to Oklahoma City University, the former Governor Robert Kerr, Mr. Sheldon Sterling, and Station KTOK for their splendid co-operation.

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Well, neighbors, now what do you think out across this broad land of ours? Does our new foreign policy lead to peace or war? These gentlemen have given you their forthright opinions. You've heard both sides ably presented. Because of the tremendous importance of this question, we're going to participate in a nation-wide opinion on this question.

Won't you sit down now and send us a postcard, a letter, or a wire to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and tell us whether you think our new foreign policy leads to peace or war. Just say, "I've heard both sides on Town Meeting and write the word "peace" or "war"—whatever you think.

If you want to talk it over, or take time to think it over a little longer, do so. But we must hear from you by Wednesday noon, April 30. Communications received after that time will not be counted. The results of your voting will be announced next week on Town Meeting, May 1.

If you want a printed copy of tonight's discussion, be sure to enclose ten cents to cover the cost

of printing and mailing and write your name and address very clearly.

Next week we return to Town Hall, New York, and will continue our discussion of the No. 1 problem of the allied nations—"What Should We Do About Germany Now?"

Our speakers will be William L. Shirer, author and columnist; Rebecca West, British novelist who covered the Nuremburg trials; Louis Lochner, author, foreign correspondent, and member of the latest Hoover mission to Germany, and Thurman Arnold, Associate Justice of the United States Court of Appeals, a Washington attorney, former Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

Tonight our committee of judges awards the \$210 set by the *Encyclopedia Americana* to Mr. Walls who asked the question, "Suppose we take the question to the U.N. Can Russia exercise her veto, and if so where can we turn then?" Congratulations, Mr. Walls. (*Applause.*)

Now we hope you'll try to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the Crier's Bell. (*Applause.*)